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ABSTRACT

The role of Texas school principals has been redefined to include instructional leadership for the planning, operation, supervision, and evaluation of educational programs. This study examined how principal trainees at the College of Education of the University of Houston (Texas) were preparing for their redefined role. It investigated the socialization of prospective principals as instructional leaders. As part of this socialization, anticipatory deskilling and reskilling in the process of becoming a principal were of interest. The ethnographic research involved interviews with 10 principal trainees and faculty, field research in university courses, and analysis of official documents. Findings suggest that sometimes trainees encountered messages in both the formal and hidden curriculum of their midmanagement certification program which stressed instructional leadership as rule following, and other times as creative application of broad-based knowledge. Most of the trainees reported the anticipation of instructional leadership as rule-following behavior. Three trainees contributed to the deskilling of their leadership roles by not intending to raise questions about the mandates of what principals are supposed to do or about the given curriculum. Comments made by several trainees spoke to how intensification (an aspect of deskilling) produces instructional leadership as rule-oriented behavior. Theoretical implications and recommendations for policy and practice are discussed. (Contains 36 references.) (JDD)

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SOCIALIZATION OF PROSPECTIVE PRINCIPALS AS INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERS IN THE ERA OF "SCHOOL REFORM": ANTICIPATORY DESKILLING AND RESKILLING IN THE PROCESS OF BECOMING A PRINCIPAL

ED 380 442

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ABSTRACT

Currently, there are numerous initiatives to develop the capacity of school administrators around the world. One of the outcomes of the responses to a governmental report in this country, entitled Nation at Risk, became a part of educational reform in the whole country. As a result of the national decree that this nation was at risk with regards to educational attainment, all states were required to investigate the importance of the instructional leadership role of the principal toward improving the students' academic performance.

In Texas, the situation paralleled the national level. The governor and other political and economic elites in the state set in motion hearings and debates through the creation of a Select Blue Ribbon Committee. The findings of the Select Blue Ribbon Committee provided the evidence for the passage of House Bill 72 in a special legislative session in 1984. Many of the recommendations cited in the national report, A Nation at Risk (1983), were also included in House Bill 72. Emanating from the recommendations was a redefined role of the principal. This redefined role of the principal specified that principals should assume an instructional leadership role for the planning, operation,

supervision, and evaluation of educational programs (Texas Educational Code 21.913).

The problem of this study was to better understand how principals were preparing for their newly redefined role by investigating the socialization of prospective principals as "instructional leaders" in this era of "school reform." Theoretical issues of proletarianization and professionalization as they related to deskilling and reskilling, gender relations, and the socialization process were examined. As part of this socialization, anticipatory deskilling and reskilling in the process of becoming a principal were of interest. To determine how prospective principals were becoming principals under the circumstances of debate and reform in education, two research questions were formulated.

1. What messages are the students encountering and perceiving from a midmanagement certification program and other sources about the instructional leadership role of the principal?
2. How are the students constructing their instructional leadership role with reference to deskilling/reskilling of the principalship?

Ethnographic research, the approach selected to answer the research questions in this study, made use of the

following ethnographic techniques: (a) two interviews per subject were conducted with 10 trainees/subjects enrolled in a university midmanagement certification program, (b) field research in university courses was conducted over two semesters, (c) the official documents in a midmanagement certification program were analyzed, and (d) selected faculty members were interviewed. An indepth analysis of the data was completed to identify evidence of deskilling and reskilling in the messages encountered by prospective instructional leaders while they were constructing their leadership roles.

Major findings of the study suggested that sometimes the trainee subjects encountered messages in both the formal and hidden curriculum of their midmanagement certification program which stressed instructional leadership as rule following and at other times instructional leadership consists of the creative application of broad-based knowledge. Rule following behavior connoted general rule following behavior, rule following about the state mandates, and following the rules embedded in the state's teaching learning model and the Texas Teacher Appraisal System (TTAS). On the other hand, creative leadership suggested instructional leadership is more than mindlessly following state mandates and models, rather creative leadership places

emphasis on the importance of the instructional leader reflecting and drawing on a broad base of knowledge to make decisions.

With regards to how these subjects/trainees were constructing their instructional leadership role, some evidenced an orientation to the role of instructional leader as rule-following behavior and others communicated a commitment to the role of instructional leadership that is characterized by the creative application of knowledge. A third role construction was evidenced by one respondent who critiqued and anticipated resistance to instructional leadership as defined by the state.

Because the university serves as the arm of the state for the preparation of instructional leaders/principals, education departments must encompass courses of study and program activities that extend beyond the presentation of legislated knowledge about public schools. The state and the university must work cooperatively to design programs so that educational workers can acquire the skills needed to enhance their legitimacy as "experts" with regards to the work of teachers and principals.

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Introduction and Background

Preparing for the principalship during the reform era is an extremely difficult task. When the role of the principal is undergoing some changes, there are outcries from members of the public, policy makers, and educational practitioners about what the principalship should entail.

During the middle decades of this century, teachers in the United States were considered to be relatively autonomous in their instructional practices in the classroom, while working within the parameters established by the school system. However, that relative autonomy may have been "breaking down" in recent years (Apple, 1983; Beyer, 1983; Gitlin, 1983; McNeil, 1983) as teachers experience an increase in bureaucratic forms of control over pedagogic activities. For example, to ensure that teachers in Texas are presenting their lessons according to a state-adopted, uniform instructional model, principals are mandated to receive formal training by state-approved trainers. The areas of formal training include effective practices of teaching and the procedures that the principal must follow while conducting mandated supervisory conferences with teachers.

Lortie (1975) cited the following examples whereby teachers have lost control over their work to other sources within the work setting: (a) the curriculum that teachers must follow is dictated by sources external to the school and reviewed by higher officials;

(b) the once-conceived ideal of autonomy behind a closed door seems to have been threatened by the absence of status resources which enable teachers to have some control over their work situation; and (c) teacher judgments about the academic and social progress of individual students are subjected to questioning and may be overruled by parents and administrators. In many instances, the instructional materials that teachers must work with are furnished by others. Interruptions and disruptions imposed upon the teachers by administrators, peers, and parents further serve as indicators that teachers have lost some control over their work situation.

Apple (1983), in studying curricular form and teachers' work, noted that the classroom teacher is becoming both deskilled and reskilled. Apple observed that prepackaged materials which include stated objectives, curricular content materials, evaluation instruments, teacher actions, and appropriate student responses, deskill the classroom teacher. The curricular content, goals, and evaluative outcomes are no longer designed by teachers themselves; rather they are defined by people who are external to the teaching situation. Thus, the knowledge gained by aspiring teachers in teacher preparation programs, participation in professional growth activities, and daily experience is no longer essential to the craft of working with students. Conception has been separated from execution, for the planning takes place at the level of production for both the rules for use of the materials and the material itself.

Apple (1983) noted that examples of such materials may be found in classrooms in the prepackaged, attractively colored boxes that can be used in all of the curriculum content areas. These materials specify to the teacher everything that she needs to know, say, and do, as well as what would be considered appropriate student responses.

Along with the process of technical controls entering the classroom in the form of predesigned curricular/teaching/ evaluative systems, teachers are simultaneously being reskilled. Apple (1983) explained that as teachers lose control of curricular and pedagogic skills to large publishing houses, these skills are replaced by better techniques in the areas of behavior modification and classroom management.

Other researchers who focused on how teachers are controlled by the curriculum also were reviewed. Beyer (1983), in reporting on an aesthetic curricular program using materials that were specifically designed with the teacher in mind, noted that teachers were becoming both deskilled and subsequently reskilled. Teachers were becoming deskilled in that all the classroom teacher needs to do is to refer to the guide which contains general and specific objectives, evaluation instruments, classroom management procedures, and then follow lesson plans step by step. In essence, no experience or expertise was needed by the teacher for the curricular materials were teacher proof. Beyer noted that, although the daily lesson plans were focused on interactive,

dynamic group processes and cooperative exercises, the evaluative procedures required individual responses which conformed to the guide. As a result, teachers became reskilled by ensuring that students' responses conformed to the standards specified by the guide rather than resting on student creativity.

During the reform era, researchers throughout this and other countries were investigating those schools which showed academic gains in basic skills subjects on achievement tests. Born out of the effective school era was the notion that principals who exhibit strong leadership with their teachers witness academic achievement gains in basic skills subjects on achievement tests taken by students in their schools. The federal government called for strong leadership on the part of the principal with instructional matters as it warned citizens in the United States of the "rising tide of educational mediocrity" which threatened this country's position in the world (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983).

In Texas, the situation paralleled the national level. The governor and other political and economic elites in the state set in motion hearings and debates through the creation of a Select Blue Ribbon Committee. The findings of the Select Blue Ribbon Committee provided the evidence for the passage of House Bill 72 in a special legislative session in 1984. Many of the recommendations cited in the national report, A Nation at Risk (1983), were also included in House Bill 72. Emanating from the recommendations was

a redefined role of the principal. This redefined role of the principal specified that principals should assume an instructional leadership role for the planning, operation, supervision, and evaluation of educational programs (Texas Educational Code 21.913).

About this time, educational researchers throughout the country had reached the conclusion that strong leadership from the principal with instructional matters was a correlate of instructionally effective schools. When principals set goals and coordinate the instructional program by demanding high academic standards (Brookhover & Lezotte, 1979; Doll, 1969; Hallinger & Murphy, 1985a,b), communicate to parents and the community matters of authority and policy about the school (Gall & DeBevoise, 1983), create an instructional climate which binds the classroom and the school (Hallinger & Murphy, 1985a,b), monitor classroom instruction, structure staff development activities, emphasize academic standards, and communicate their views about instruction (Murphy, Neil, Hallinger, & Mitman, 1985; Wellisch, MacQueen, Carriere, & Duck, 1978), they contribute to the academic success of their student populations.

Historically, the principalship was created to assist with the clerical duties associated with an increasing school population and simultaneously serve the role of a "teacher of teachers." When the role of the principal shifted from a presiding teacher and applied philosopher to one of a directing manager, taking care of budgeting, accounting, and purchasing were the skills

administrators needed to maintain their elevated status within the community.

From an organizational perspective, the building principal serves as the link for messages to filter from the superintendent's office to the remainder of the district's formal organizational structure. As such, messages generally travel from the superintendent's office to the office of principal. However, information may also travel in reverse, but most changes filter from the superintendent down to the principalship.

Symbolically, the principal's role is to serve as "chief" about instructional matters. When the principal serves as the "chief," symbolic forces, such as words and examples, are used to communicate to the faculty and staff the importance of setting goals and objectives about instructional matters.

Although much research in the area of school effects and effective schools points to the importance of the role of the principal as instructional leader, many principals prefer to cling to the notion that the principalship entails serving in the capacity of a manager. From this perspective, the principalship involves being in charge of a subunit of an organization in which power and autonomy are restricted primarily to caring for issues which are of interest to the school community and organizational maintenance.

Regardless of the prevailing dimension of the principalship role, they appear to be an aftermath of earlier doctrines of

administration. However, the most favorable dimension of the leadership role of the principal seems to depend heavily on the existing state of societal affairs.

Problem of Study and Research Questions

The investigation of the socialization of prospective principals as "instructional leaders" in this era of "school reform" was the problem of this study. As part of this socialization, anticipatory deskilling and reskilling in the process of becoming a principal were also of interest. To determine how prospective principals were becoming principals under the circumstances of debate and reform in education in this era in which the role of the principal as an instructional leader is both celebrated in terms of its importance and undermined in terms of the restricted level of autonomy built into the proposed reforms, two research questions were formulated.

1. What messages are the students encountering and perceiving from a midmanagement certification program and other sources about the instructional leadership role of the principal?
2. How are the students constructing their instructional leadership role with reference to deskilling/reskilling of the principalship?

Theoretical Issues

To better understand the debates and arguments about the principalship and how prospective principals might be developing their identities related to this role, theoretical issues were examined which involved proletarianization and professionalization as they related to the issues of deskilling and reskilling, gender relations, and the socialization process. Deskilling is a part of a dynamic of proletarianization which affects skilled workers through increased and rigidified division of labor, routinization of work tasks, the attendant separation of conception and execution, and the intensification of the labor process (Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977). On the other hand, the other aspects of the contradiction, reskilling or professionalization involves the process of creating new techniques and jobs which thus necessitates workers (usually a smaller number and not the same ones who have been deskilled) to acquire or make use of new skills (Ginsburg & Spatig, 1985). Thus, simple, bureaucratic, and technical controls were reviewed to reveal the kinds of control by which teachers are governed because of their class position as members in an organizational setting.

Gender was considered important in this study because in education, as well as in other fields, there appears to be a greater tendency for those occupations that are highly feminized to become proletarianized and undergo deskilling (Acker, 1983; Buswell, 1980). Given the feminization of the principalship and

the implications that it had for deskilling and reskilling, and given the contradictory dynamics that were discussed about the role of the principal, one preparing for the principalship is faced with a difficult task of constructing and learning the role of a principal.

Studying the processes and products of occupational socialization, the influence work has on the human personality and how people are affected by their occupational pursuits is shifting (Ginsburg, 1986; LeCompte & Ginsburg, 1987; Lortie, 1975; Spatig, Ginsburg, & Liberman, 1981). For many years, the functionalist view of occupational socialization held prominence among many who were responsible for the development and coordination of training programs. The functionalist view placed emphasis on the role of training programs as "molders" of passive trainees which shape trainees into desired forms for various occupational roles. An alternative model, the symbolic interactionist/phenomenological model, entered the field and has been also used for studying how people are affected by their occupational pursuits. The symbolic interactionist/phenomenological model places emphasis on how trainees actively managed and manipulated their training experience.

Noticeable differences in the two models of occupational socialization were stressed by the two perspectives. While the functionalist perspective emphasizes the passive trainee, the symbolic interactionist/phenomenological model gives notice to an

active trainee. The work of LeCompte and Ginsburg (1987) was examined to clarify how the passive and active models differ in emphasis. Also, related to the matter at hand was the notion of the "duality" of structure (Giddens, 1979), explained by Manicas (1980) as social structures. Both are constituted by human agency and yet, at the same time, are the medium of this constitution.

Method

Ethnographic research was the approach selected to answer the research questions in the study. The setting for this ethnographic study was the University of Houston, University Park Campus, a large, urban, state-supported university. The College of Education, where the study was conducted, encompassed four departments: Curriculum and Instruction, Educational Leadership and Cultural Studies, Educational Psychology, and Health, Physical Education and Recreation departments. These departments offered programs leading to baccalaureate, master's, and doctoral degrees, as well as state certificates required for those who want to be public school teachers, principals, and supervisors. The study was focused on the experience of students in the midmanagement certification program in the Department of Educational Leadership and Cultural Studies. The course of study for the midmanagement certificate requires a total of 45 semester hours. Final certification in the program is dependent upon the successful

completion of the Examination for the Certification of Educators in Texas (EXCET).

Data collection in this study was conducted in two course settings. These settings included the Basic Concepts course and the Instructional Supervision I course. The Basic Concepts course block of two courses offered concurrently met twice weekly for three hours per class meeting. The Instructional Supervision I course, which met once weekly for three hours each class session, provided the content for the second half of the field research during the spring semester of 1987.

Data collection for this research, conducted during the fall 1986 and spring 1987 semesters, employed four major components: (a) a study of official academic requirements and other documents; (b) participant observation recorded in field notes in the following courses which are the core requirements for the midmanagement certificate: Basic Concepts in Educational Administration Instructional Supervision I; (c) interviews of selected students who completed requirements in these courses and are seeking certification to become principals; and (d) interviews with selected faculty members. By using the process of triangulation with the data sources above, the researcher attempted to formalize the meanings and interpretations between the researcher and the subjects about phenomena that is under investigation (Denzin, 1978; LeCompte & Goetz, 1982).

The population from which the subjects of the study were selected was a group of students who had all received a baccalaureate degree in some chosen subject area. Historically, the gender ratio of the population for this study is significant. Of the 35 students enrolled in the Basic Concepts course during the fall semester of 1986, 23 were females while only 12 were males. All of the students enrolled in the course were employed in local school districts and had committed themselves to return to the university as graduate students to study school administration. Of the 10 subjects who were employed as teachers around the city, 8 were females and 2 were males.

Analysis of the data was an ongoing procedure throughout the data collection phase of the research. Field notes were compiled based on observations and informal conversations. An approach was adapted from Spradley's (1980) domain; taxonomic, componential, and theme analysis were performed on excerpts from the field notes, interview transcripts, and documents.

The limitations of the research include those limitations imposed by the nature and size of the sample used in completing the research. At the time the data were collected, a shift occurred with regards to gender for those students entering administrative programs.

The size of the sample chosen for this study must be considered in reviewing the findings. All subjects/trainees in this study were enrolled in one university context within the same

city in the state of Texas. Because this study was initiated shortly after the educational reforms became mandates, many teachers, administrators, superintendents, and professors in the College of Education were unsure about some of the responsibilities associated with newly redefined roles. Therefore, many of the responses provided by the subjects/trainees about the reforms could have been influenced by popular opinion about many of the issues that pertained to instructional leadership/principalship.

Summary of Major Findings

The subjects/trainees encountered messages in both the formal and hidden curriculum of this midmanagement certification program about their prospective instructional leadership roles. At times, the subjects/trainees encountered messages which stressed instructional leadership as rule following and at other times that instructional leadership consists of the creative application of broad-based knowledge. The concept of rule following connotes following activities or strategies which had been conceptualized by others and prescribed by the state. Both the definition of "good" instruction and the activities associated with instructional leadership are specified by others, and the principal's role is to follow the rules of thought and behavior so specified. In contrast, creative application characterizes an instructional leader as one who does not have specifics spelled out and who does not spend time performing simple, mundane tasks. Creative leaders

are actively involved in conceptualizing what instructional leaders should do and what "good" instruction and appropriate curriculum are. Creative leaders engage in carrying out such conceptualizations, drawing on a broad base of knowledge in a reflective manner as well as reorienting their actions and their concepts in relation to the situations they encounter. This perception is based on the concept of the instructional leader's role as invested with the power to decide how to conceptualize and execute/ implement a curricular/instructional program and do so in a creative, nonstandardized, nonroutine way under relatively few pressures of time or other task intensification.

The messages the subjects/trainees encountered in both the formal and hidden curriculum about instructional leadership as rule following behavior connoted general rule following behavior, rule following about the state mandates, and following the rules embedded in the state's teaching learning model and the Texas Teacher Appraisal System (TTAS). Creative leadership, on the other hand, suggested instructional leadership is more than mindlessly following state mandates and models, rather creative leadership places emphasis on the importance of the instructional leader reflecting and drawing on a broad base of knowledge to make decisions.

There were basically three groups of respondents. First, there were trainees/subjects who anticipated implementing with enthusiasm instructional leadership roles that are characterized by

a rule-oriented approach. These subjects/trainees appeared to celebrate the deskilled role because they considered their knowledge and behavior was legitimated by the "experts" and "the research." Also, this group of respondents considered the intensification as a source of legitimacy for their power and authority with their leadership roles.

The next group of respondents also anticipated their instructional leadership roles to entail rule-following behavior. This group of subjects/trainees anticipated strategically complying with all of the constraints associated with their roles, but they also planned to raise questions, provide critique, and create space to bend the rules when necessary.

Only one respondent was noted who did not anticipate an instructional leadership role as a rule follower. This subject/trainee offered critique to the constraints imposed and anticipated resisting following the rules associated with the role.

Theoretical Implications

The findings of this study have implications for a number of issues discussed in the review of the theoretical and empirical literature. This midmanagement certification program emphasized instructional leadership as an important aspect of the principalship. Instructional leadership as principals working directly with teachers and their instructional roles, relating this work to the improvement of student achievement, and high visibility

with both curricular and cocurricular activities were those aspects of the role of the principal as instructional leader strongly supported by the Effective School Research conducted over the past 10 years (Brookhover & Lezotte, 1979; Doll, 1969; Gall & DeBevoise, 1983; Hallinger & Murphy, 1985a,b; Murphy et al., 1985; Wellisch et al., 1978).

Although instructional leadership was clearly emphasized by the professors, guest lecturers, local administrators, class readings, and course assignments in this midmanagement certification program, some of the messages that students encountered with regards to their instructional leadership role were contradictory. On the one hand, the students encountered messages which signaled their instructional leadership role to entail rule following behavior. Other times, the students encountered messages which suggested instructional leadership as the creative application of a broad base of knowledge. These dynamics may signal a contradiction in the social relations of work (Ginsburg, 1986).

The concept of rule-following behavior connoted following activities and strategies which had been conceptualized by others and prescribed by the state. The principal's role was characterized as following the rules of thought and behavior so specified. In contrast, creative application of broad-based knowledge characterizes an instructional leader as one who does not have specifics spelled out and who does not spend time performing

simple, mundane tasks. Creative leaders are actively involved in conceptualizing what instructional leaders should do and what constitutes "good" instruction and appropriate curriculum. The most pervasive message the subjects/ trainees encountered about their instructional leadership role was that instructional leadership is rule-following behavior.

The characteristics of rule followers as supported by the data included behaviors such as (a) maintaining routines; (b) showing ingenuity through simplification, streamlining, mechanization, repetition, and predictability; (c) replacing creative people with custodial ones; (d) seeking perfection of the status quo; (e) fearing any change; and (f) findings that leadership can be summed up in formulas such as the following: be firm, fair, and friendly; know your man; work through people; and be a man. These messages the subjects/trainees encountered in the program were similar to findings of previous research that stressed organizational maintenance in the role of the principal (Mintzberg, 1973; Wolcott, 1973), and they were supported by Taylorism (1947).

To further emphasize the value of being a rule follower, another twofold message was sent to the subjects/trainees. This message was that rule followers were more likely to be rewarded and that expectations for the role of the principal encouraged routine prescribed programs.

Subjects/trainees also received the message and were encouraged to be rule followers in the program from messages they

received which stressed instructional leadership as the possession of knowledge about the state's teaching/learning model. Another message the respondents encountered about instructional leadership as rule-following behavior was that the practices of both teachers and principals should be conceptualized as following the rules embedded in the TTAS in a rote fashion. These messages the subjects/trainees received about instructional leadership were also legitimated in the program by the professors during the class lectures, course assignments, and guest lectures. The notion of "experts" and the "research" were drawn on to legitimate instructional leadership as being knowledgeable about the state's teaching/learning model and also the implementation of the TTAS in a rote-like manner. Additionally, the strength of the message that instructional leadership is the application of knowledge conceptualized by the state was both communicated and modeled by the professor in the Instructional Supervision I course. Using course content specified by the state and offering personal comments about how the state's teaching/learning model and the TTAS could be utilized to conference, enhance, and appraise teacher performance were influential messages to communicate instructional leadership as rule-following behavior. Also, arranging the format of the class to facilitate a rule-oriented, mechanistic approach to the contents taught in the course was modeled by the professor to influence instructional leadership as rule-following behavior. The strong support for the rule-following behaviors in the application

of the state model were expressed through class lectures, course handouts, class assignments, the weighting of grades, and remarks by practitioners involved in the use of the state model.

Analysis of the data indicates that messages concerning creative leadership received less emphasis. Creative leadership was focused on the application of a broad base of knowledge and was characterized by reflective thinking, developing new missions, speculating, and encouraging and trying new ideas. This conception of instructional leadership was more closely aligned with the views of researchers such as Sergiovanni (1984). In lectures as well as in interviews, there were a few instances in which creative leadership was encouraged. The creative leadership ideas, however, were more frequently associated with drawing on knowledge associated with the state models.

There was a suggestion from the data that rule-following behavior versus creative leadership may have been influenced by gender relations. Females, more than males, seemed to draw upon knowledge legitimated by the state model and to support and encourage rule following. There is a suggestion also that the more pragmatically-oriented subjects/trainees who were female would maintain the status quo. Another female respondent did allow for alternatives and possibilities for change in practice and policy. These possibilities were based, however, on state-mandated models. The only critical theory perspective was communicated by a male professor, and that reference to a critical perspective was offered

in a private interview, not as a part of a classroom message. Thus, the pragmatic message, rule following, was the message presented to the subjects/trainees.

Overall, in this midmanagement certification program, the messages the subjects/trainees encountered about instructional leadership manifested in the class lectures, handouts, departmental documents, the state teaching/learning model, course syllabi, required readings, and remarks from visiting administrators supported rule-following behaviors. These messages about instructional leadership as rule-following behavior encouraged the subjects/trainees to enact leadership roles that were characterized by rules, routinization, and standardization.

These findings lend support to the deskilling/reskilling aspect of proletarianization in which skilled workers are affected through an increased and rigidified division of labor, routinization of work tasks, the attendant separation of conception and execution, and the intensification of the labor process (Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977). Deskilling on the part of the principal is implied because the principal is required to follow prescribed routines and standards that are specified in a model conceptualized by external sources. Moreover, when principal/teacher conferences are developed according to routines and procedures as specified in the state's teaching/learning model, there is evidence of instructional leadership as executing programs conceptualized by others. Authors found in the literature on

proletarianization/deskilling cited conceptualization without execution as a dynamic which contributes to the deskilling of skilled workers (Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977).

Encouraging the trainees/subjects to follow the practices of the TTAS in a rote manner was another message that respondents encountered in both the Basic Concepts and Instructional Supervision I courses. Advising the trainees to implement the TTAS mechanistically encouraged deskilling of the leadership role of the principal. Deskilling occurs in that the principal's role is to follow the rules and routines associated with the administration of the TTAS. The preponderance of the evidence of these findings suggested that those who were involved in the program design and the course presentations were anticipating and encouraging the proletarianization of the principalship (Apple, 1982, 1983; Beyer, 1983; Ginsburg, 1986; Ginsburg & Spatig, 1985; Gitlin, 1983; McNeil, 1983).

While these subjects/trainees were encountering messages about the importance of instructional leadership, they were also involved in constructing their future roles as instructional leaders. Thus, it was considered important to review the various perspectives for the study of occupational socialization. Perspectives for the study of occupational socialization are shifting (Ginsburg, 1986; LeCompte & Ginsburg, 1987; Lortie, 1975; Spatig, Ginsburg, & Liberman, 1981). Traditionally, a functionalist sociological view was employed in which emphasis was placed on the role of training

programs as "molders" of passive trainees (Merton, Reader, & Kendall, 1957) in which the human raw material of society is "transformed into good working members" (Brim & Wheeler, 1966, p. 5). With respect to the debate about how to view the occupational socialization process, this ethnographic account gave verification to the notion that two trainees/subjects found messages in the Basic Concepts and the Instructional Supervision I courses to support their views of instructional leadership as rule-following behavior with the state's teaching/learning model and the TTAS. This finding was similar to findings of previous researchers who emphasized the fuctionalist view of occupational socialization in which training programs act as molders of passive agents for desired occupational roles (Brim & Wheeler, 1966; Merton et al., 1957).

While these subjects/trainees were encountering messages about the importance of instructional leadership, they were also involved in constructing their future roles as instructional leaders. In talking with the respondents, some evidenced an orientation to the role of instructional leader as rule-following behavior and others communicated a commitment to the role of instructional leadership that is characterized by the creative application of knowledge. Still a third role construction was evidenced by one respondent who critiqued and anticipated resistance to instructional leadership as defined by the state.

Most of the trainees/subjects reported the anticipation of instructional leadership as rule-following behavior. The sentiment of rule-following behavior implied adhering to the rules of thought and behavior that were specified about programs which were conceptualized by others and the state. Obeying and enforcing the routines associated with general mandates created by the educational reforms, serving the role of monitor for teacher/subject/time, and other general procedures which pertained to the teachers were stated by the respondents as functions of instructional leadership that will consume their time.

Particular attention was devoted to the ways in which these subjects/trainees constructed their instructional leadership roles with reference to deskilling/reskilling. As noted earlier, deskilling is part of a dynamic of proletarianization which affects skilled workers through increased and rigidified division of labor, routinization of work tasks, the attendant separation of conception and execution, and the intensification of the labor process (Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977). Braverman (1974) explained the logic of proletarianization/deskilling in the capitalist mode of production: "the labor power capable of performing a process may be purchased (and reproduced) more cheaply as disassociated elements than as a capacity integrated into a single worker" (p. 169).

It was evidenced that three subjects/trainees contributed to their own deskilling. These trainees appeared to self-impose

deskilling of their leadership roles in that they did not intend to raise questions about the mandates of what principals are supposed to do, the given curriculum, or the TTAS. This finding lent support to findings from previous research conducted by McNeil (1983) which pointed out how teachers contribute to their own deskilling by self-imposing controls on their role which supports organizational maintenance.

Among these same trainees/subjects were those who were constructing instructional leadership roles in which they conceived the curriculum as a given. These respondents were very much like Ginsburg's (1986) student subjects enrolled in a teacher training program who conceived the curriculum as a given and prepared to deliver the given curriculum without questioning the appropriateness of the subject matter. Thus, these trainees/ subjects in the midmanagement certification program were participating in "anticipatory deskilling" in that they celebrated the notion of being responsible for only devising novel ways of delivering the state-mandated curriculum. This finding, consistent with Ginsburg's (1986) findings, tends to imply that these trainees'/subjects' instructional leadership roles will entail accepting and enforcing the given curriculum by the state rather than assisting teachers in designing a curriculum to meet the unique needs of a particular setting.

Being detached from the development of curricular objectives/ curriculum was also a celebrated notion by these trainees/subjects.

Also, these trainees/subjects considered liberation from designing specific objectives to meet the needs of a specific group as "freedom" from intensification associated with the role. Moreover, these trainees/subjects considered what was taught to be legitimate knowledge because it was a source of practice dictated by the experts. This finding was similar to findings of research that explained how educated workers become deskilled through a process of "skill diversification" in which mental workers are separated from their own fields and must rely on the ideas and processes provided by others (Apple, 1983; Beyer, 1983; Ginsburg, 1986; Gitlin, 1983).

While speaking to the issue of "separation of conception from execution," trainees/subjects celebrated the routine standard procedures linked to data gathering and the specified indicators on the TTAS. Implementing a teacher appraisal system that has prescribed routine standardization procedures associated with its structure and implementation calls for rule-following behavior versus the creative application of broad-based knowledge in that the instructional leadership role of the principal entails the administration of the TTAS in a routine manner. Having to implement programs in a rote manner that have been conceptualized and dictated by sources external to the situation lends support to previous research findings that explain how educated workers are becoming deskilled and have lost control over their work situation (Apple, 1983; Lortie, 1975). On the other

hand, evidence of one respondent's anticipation of the need for a resource book to refer, reflect, and draw upon served to imply that this subject/trainee was seeking to skill or reskill herself. This finding was similar to findings of previous research that stressed the necessity for workers to acquire new skills (reskilling) after deskilling (Apple, 1983; Ginsburg & Spatig, 1985).

Comments made by several of these trainees/subjects spoke to how intensification, an aspect of deskilling, serves to produce instructional leadership as rule-oriented behavior. The subjects/trainees mentioned that the demands and expectations placed on their time destroy the time, energy, and space that could be devoted to instructional concerns or to reflecting on broad-base knowledge. Some of these demands and expectations were being responsive to so many people--students, teachers, parents, superintendents, and boards of education; enacting too many roles; being highly visible at both on- and off-campus school functions; being knowledgeable about all school related procedures; and possessing the fortitude to function effectively and efficiently in spite of interruption after interruption. This finding is also consistent with earlier research findings in which intensification of the work demands contributed to the erosion of educated workers' autonomy and control (Apple, 1982; Beyer, 1983; Gitlin, 1983; Lortie, 1975).

Intensification, as an aspect of proletarianization, was also found to explain why many of the trainees/subjects appeared to anticipate their instructional leadership role to entail rule-following behavior. This finding was similar to findings of previous research that stressed how "liberation" from work demands encourages some workers to engage in voluntary deskilling and accept deskilling/depowering work roles (Ginsburg, 1986).

Another reason why some prospective principals may anticipate constructing their instructional leadership roles as basically rule following was because then the action of the principal is legitimated through legal/state and expert, as opposed to personal or charismatic, sources of legitimization of their power over teachers. This finding was similar to previous research findings that stressed how dominant groups in society legitimate their ideology to future generations about matters of authority, control, and ways of thinking (LeCompte & Ginsburg, 1987).

Counter to the trainees/subjects who were constructing instructional leadership roles as rule following, there were trainees/subjects who rejected rule following. These trainees/subjects anticipated instructional leadership roles whereby they could reflect on and creatively apply a broad base of knowledge. Several trainees/subjects were appalled to discover their instructional leadership role with TTAS restricted their power and autonomy and prohibited them from executing their conceptualizations of effective teaching practices. Permitting

free-flowing discussions among principals/teachers during teacher assessment and conferences, conceptualizing programmatic activities for specific student populations, and reflecting to other antecedents of instructional leadership as creative and reflective of broad-based knowledge were mentioned by several trainees/ subjects as their anticipated instructional leadership roles.

In one instance, there was a respondent who conceived of the principal as one who does not have specifics spelled out and who does not spend time performing mundane tasks. To this respondent, the principalship involves conceptualizing what instructional leaders should do and what "good" instruction and appropriate curriculum are. Drawing on broad-based knowledge in a reflective manner and reorienting actions and concepts in relation to situations that are encountered comprised instructional leadership for this respondent. It is interesting to note that shortly after data collection was completed, this respondent withdrew from the educational administration department to seek a doctorate in another department at the university.

In general, the respondents who were celebrating, embracing, and anticipating their deskilling were all females. This finding was supportive of previous conclusions reached by Buswell (1980) and Acker (1983) who argued that in education as well as in other fields, there appears to be a greater tendency for feminized occupations to be proletarianized and undergo deskilling. These women principals may be more concerned about external conditions,

such as TTAS and the state model, because of the traditionally gendered notions of authority relations where males have been dominant. However, the animation is derived from male researchers and politicians and is being used to control the predominantly feminized teaching force. This finding was also parallel to earlier research findings that emphasized the importance of an understanding of feminine sex-role ideology and organizational compliance (Morain, 1978; Strober & Tyack, 1980).

Methodological Insights

To study how subjects/trainees were preparing to become principals at a time when the role was undergoing much debate and controversy, the ethnographic approach was utilized. This approach as utilized in this study appears to be an appropriate and skillful means of discovering how prospective principals are socialized into their roles as instructional leaders. Before one attempts to conduct a study of this magnitude, however, it is crucial to consider how the constraints associated with the production of an ethnography can serve to intensify the life of the researcher. Being a student, holding a full time job, investigating subjects who were also students and employed in full time jobs in educational settings served to intensify this researcher's life during the period of data collection and data analysis.

As this researcher reflects back on the study, there are a few experiences that could be considered helpful to others who are

considering a similar research project. Before attempting to conduct a study of this magnitude, one must make personal sacrifices in the name of time and energy to apply the necessary techniques for studying a problem in its natural setting. One must possess the physical stamina, time, and monetary resources to withstand the data collection and data analysis associated with ethnographic research. It was found to be extremely crucial in this ethnographic study to employ many components of data collection to better understand the messages the subjects/trainees encountered in the midmanagement certification program. Attempts to formalize meanings and interpretations between the researcher and the subjects about phenomena that were being investigated were undertaken by employing triangulation with (a) a study of official academic requirements and other documents, (b) participant observation in the Basic Concepts and Instructional Supervision I courses, (c) interviews with selected students who completed requirements in these courses and were seeking certification, and (d) interviews with selected faculty members.

Although the subjects/trainees spoke freely with this researcher during the interview sessions about their anticipated instructional leadership roles, it must be remembered that these respondents were preparing for future leadership roles. Thus, a follow-up study of the subjects/trainees once they obtain jobs as instructional leaders might provide additional insight into how and when one learns to become a principal.

This study was conducted during the era of educational reform in Texas when the leadership role of the principal was emphasized as instructional leader/instructional leadership. If the study was replicated, the researcher would recommend placing emphasis on how existing forces in society and broader social structures are serving to influence the prevailing doctrine of the principalship.

Recommendations for Policy and Practice

The importance of the principal's role appears to be emphasized now more than ever before. Educators, legislators, and other members in the community have identified the principalship as the key position in educational settings which can enhance the academic achievement of all the students in the school. With this thought in mind, the role of the principal has received much attention, both in Texas and throughout the country. Thus, it becomes important to propose some recommendations for policy and practice about educational administrators/instructional leadership/principalship based on the findings of this research.

Because the university serves as an arm of the state in dealing with educational reform, professors in the Educational Leadership and Cultural Studies Department should not assume positions in their ivory towers. These professors should be working to revive the department rather than preserve the status quo. If colleges of education in Texas are expected to survive and continue to attract quality professors and outstanding students,

the course of study and programmatic activities must extend beyond the presentation of legislated knowledge unique to the public schools of Texas. If the state continues to rely on state-supported universities to transmit legislated knowledge about instructional leadership, the state must work cooperatively with the university to develop a program that is not dishonest and misleading about its mission, but is reflective of the reality. The state should seriously consider whether it is the state's role to prepare principals for the current system of education or to devote more time to trying to define the principalship.

Legislators who are entrusted with the authority of shaping policies and programs about instructional leadership should consider the effects of the constraints that are placed on the role by the legislative mandates. These constraints may cause some dedicated and talented administrators to decide to discontinue their association with educational administration and the principalship and seek other channels, opportunities, and positions in teachers' unions as avenues by which they can function as instructional leaders. Practicing principals may want to rethink and consider reorganizing themselves into labor organizations and unions with teachers to engage in collective bargaining efforts. In this way, both principals and teachers become potential mutual allies in the struggle against deskilling as opposed to the current position of the principal as "the enemy."

Educational workers must seriously question and be resentful of others who consider themselves to be the "experts" about the work of teachers and principals. In most instances, the experts derived their legitimacy as "experts" through being white, male, and capitalist. Additionally, if the "experts" continue to make decisions about the work of educational administrators, and if educational administration is basically teaching rule-following behavior, the preparation of instructional leaders/principals may be more effectively done through on-the-job training programs so that it has more continuity.

As was pointed out in this study, the instructional leadership role is a viable asset to the community. However, the feedback principals receive from the parents and the community, who are the taxpayers that ultimately support and supply the necessary funds for the whole educational realm, must be channeled toward both the district and state "rule makers." In addition, this feedback should be recorded and monitored on the local level for possible trends in the direction of the community's required as well as preferred educational needs. Many parents of today question the quality assurance of their children's education. Although it is a difficult task to measure the outcome of education, it can be documented not only in scholastic aptitude scores, but also in demographic areas such as un/underemployment figures, voting registrations, one-parent households, and socioeconomic levels.

Given that reform efforts can be seen as a form of struggle between different groups and ideologies, this means that the critical praxis is or has to be conceived of as embedded in the context of these broader struggles so that questions of class and gender and struggle out of these are linked to struggles over what principals' and teachers' roles are and whose interests schools best serve.

One should remember the particular difficulties that women principals may face and how this might encourage them to be rule followers rather than engage in struggles for transformations. Thus, part of the focus of critical praxis must be an examination and transformation of unequal gender relations in the school, the family, and society.

Somehow, this all has to be done in an institution that is funded by the state. Of course, those who now control the state may object, and such a struggle would serve to mobilize the people to take back the state to serve their general interest. Both the instructors and the students face the constraints of having to change.

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